[Chaco Period]

leader of his moiety in the village, the leader at moiety council meetings (*itiskovoti*), and the spokesman of his group in matters concerning the village and the tribe. The moiety chiefs do not appear to have had any judicial functions, their powers being limited to advising and warning quarrelsome individuals. The moieties were of equal status. 616 622

The succession of moiety chiefs was controlled partly by heredity and partly by the will of the people. When a chief died the son who resembled him most in personal characteristics was selected chief by the moiety-in-council. The people could also select the chief's brother or brother's son. Women were not eligible for chieftainship. This account of selecting chiefs is at variance with the rather elaborate rules of succession described by other writers (Métraux, 1946, vol. 1, p. 310). [562] [114]

During everyday life there was nothing to distinguish members of one moiety from another. Their houses were not segregated nor were they set apart by differences in habits or everyday clothing. During ceremonials, however, the behavior of the two groups toward one another changed radically. The *shumonó* began to play tricks on the *sukirikionó* who, in a dignified manner, suffered all the tricks and insults which the *shumonó* heaped upon them. Some of the tricks played were the following: During daylight and in the presence of others a *shumonó* man would carry on rough sexual play with a woman from the opposite side; a *shumonó* would paint the face of a sleeping member of the *sukirikionó*, later giving him a mirror so that he could see himself; a group of *shumonó* would catch a member of the other side and pull and push him about in the center of the village; during feasts a *shumonó* would turn a dish of food over the head of a *sukirikionó;* sometimes a *shumonó* would put the contents of a butchered cow's stomach in a bladder and go about squeezing the bladder over the heads of the *sukirikionó*. License of this nature was limited strictly to ceremonial periods. A *sukirikionó* was not supposed to get angry and tried to shame the tricksters only by jokes and witty remarks in an effort to make himself appear superior. During ceremonies in which the moieties danced opposite each other, the members were distinguished by body painting; the *shumonó* would paint their bodies in horizontal lines of black and white while 616 796 ● [831] 616 796 302

[P. 28-A]

616 796 302

the *sukirikionó* would paint half their bodies white and the other half black.

SOCIAL CLASSES

In addition to the dual division, the Terena were separated into four social classes: (1) Chiefs (*unati*), (2) warriors (*shuna'asheti*), (3) commoners (*wahereshane*), and (4) slaves (*kauti*). The chiefly class comprised the moiety chiefs and their relatives. The *unati* were the highest class in rank and were supposed to marry within their own group. As one could marry only within his own moiety this often meant village exogamy to members of this class. On coming of age the sons of the *unati* went through an elaborate puberty ceremony (*tima*) which amounted to initiation into the chiefly class. In historic times the principal part of the ceremony consisted in the boy approaching his father dressed in a light-red blanket which he would take off and substitute for the dark-red blanket worn by his father. Only the sons of the *unati* went through this ceremony. The daughters of the chiefs also went through a puberty ceremony (*iyoti*) much more elaborate than the puberty ceremony of the daughters of common people.

565 [582] 981 565 622 [292] [562] [554]

All the living war chiefs and their children and relatives made up the warrior class. Here, again, marriage within the group was demanded. Commoners were free tribesmen who had not acquired status through war or marriage into the two upper classes. Slaves were young women and children captured in raids, or the children of war captives. Slaves performed services for their masters, followed them in war and danced with them during ceremonials. If a slave distinguished himself in war by killing an enemy he could become a free man. It is said that a slave could even become a war chief if he were particularly successful in war. On the other hand, a slave could be sold or killed by his master.

565 [641] 567 565

In war, moiety differences were disregarded and the village acted as a unit. Every large village had a war chief (*shuna'asheti*) who held office both in war and peace and was the head of the warrior class. As an individual he had the highest rank in the village and drank first at all ceremonies. He, too, carried a cow's horn trumpet as a symbol of rank. In addition, he wore a jaguar skin shirt and a head band of parrot feathers.

616 701 726 554 [534] [292] [239]

[p. 28-B]

the following night the novice was expected to have a dream in which the soul of the snake, bird, or plant appeared to him. As we have seen, the souls of these animals, birds, and plants were believed to be the ghosts of dead shamans who appeared in nonhuman forms. If the novice was successful in making contact with a spirit or ghost he would continue his training, for he now had a spirit helper. When the novice had learned all the myths, chants, rites, and magical lore, he was given the gourd rattle, *itéaka*, and was considered a qualified shaman, *koiokáwaneti*. He was presented to the tribe during the annual festival of the shamans.

Once a year the shamans held a public performance, or festival, known as the *ohéo'koti*. This festival took place when the Pleiades had reached their maximum height in the sky. A month before this date the shamans gathered wild honey and prepared quantities of alcoholic mead in preparation for the ceremony. During this waiting period the shamans chanted together every night and told stories about their *uchépovoi*, or spirit helpers. Often the shamans would fall into a trance and remain as if dead, saying that their *uchépovoi* had called them into the spirit world. Just before the festival the shamans would build a special hut or shrine near the village called *penó-ohéo'koti*.

On the morning of the day fixed for the *ohéo'koti* the shamans would gather at their special hut accompanied by their novices. A fire would be lighted and the shamans would sit around it. One of the shamans, called *ivohákoti* (itchy one), would then stand up and turning toward the graveyard would shout "Wake up!" and call all the known dead by name. Then the shamans would begin to chant and beat their drums and march toward the village. When they entered the village they passed before each house. When they came before the house of a shaman they would stop, and the owner of the house would chant, shaking his gourd rattle, calling on his spirit helper to give him power.

If the shaman were successful or had the skill, he would perform certain miracles before his house to impress the villagers who were gathered around to observe the proceedings. He would make snakes, birds, and other objects come out of his mouth. He would, for instance, take a piece

[Chaco Period]
[Post Chaco Period]

of meat from his mouth, blow on it until it took the form of a snake, later making it disappear into his mouth; or he would take a small plant from his mouth and by blowing on it make it grow into a large flowering plant, later making it diminish and disappear.

This performance of miracles would continue before the house of each shaman. When this part of the *ohéo'koti* was completed the shamans withdrew to appear again dressed in red mantles called *haráramototi*. Again they marched before each house stopping at the houses of the shamans where each shaman would give his colleagues the mead which he had prepared. After all the mead had been consumed the shamans retired and the *ohéo'koti* was finished for the season.

Among the Terena, shamans had, in the past, a position of extraordinary prestige. This high status was due, no doubt, in part to their alleged power to cure, to discover lost objects, to assist in hunting, and to discover the location of enemy war parties, and, in part, to their alleged power to perform miracles. Besides participating intimately in the fundamental activities of social life, the shamans were the repositories and the transmitters of tribal lore and of origin myths and were the connecting link between the Terena and the supernatural world in which everyone believed. Above all, they were instrumental in bringing the people together at the time of the annual *ohéo'koti* during which both the living and the ghosts of the dead participated in observing the power of the shamans to control the world.

PRESENT-DAY RELIGION

Although the Terena have been in contact with a Christian community for over a century and Protestant missionaries have been active in Bananal for about 35 years, shamanism is by no means dead. At Bananal there are, today, six shamans—four men and two women. The four men (Eperú, José, Sabino, and Brigido) were consulted. Eperú for instance, explained that he learned his shamanism from his father who was also a shaman. He said that although he does not have the power to perform miracles, such as making a "bicho" (a little animal) come out of his mouth, he has spirits with whom he can get into contact. These spirits are the ghosts of dead shamans. He calls the spirits at night when he wants them to help him.

Portuguese. He appears to have made a favorable impression, for the Terena speak about him even today.

When the "Serviço de Proteção aos Indios" established the Post at Bananal in 1916 it brought the Terena together and made Catholic missionary activity among them more effective. Around 1920 the English Protestants appear to have withdrawn their mission. By 1925 American Protestant missionaries, belonging to the South American Indian Mission, had established a mission and school at Bananal where a missionary, a teacher, and a nurse are still active. In 1930 an American branch of the Redemptorist Catholic mission was established at Aquidauana, from where the fathers make periodic visits to the Terena villages.

In addition to the regular activities of the American Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the Brazilian nuns in Aquidauana organize saint's day celebrations among the Indians. A popular saint among the Terena is Saint Sebastian. Being a martyr he is represented bound to a tree with an arrow in his side. The arrow may have something to do with the selection of this saint to serve Indian needs. Among Brazilian Catholics, Saint Sebastian provides protection against hunger, sudden death, and pests. A month before Saint Sebastian's day the nuns prepare a banner mounted on a staff showing the figure of the saint. This banner is then presented to the village of Ipegue, near Bananal, where the Indians are predominantly Catholic. The Indians begin their procession from Ipegue and after visiting all the Terena villages they end up in Aquidauana on Saint Sebastian's day, where the final celebration takes place.

During the procession the bearer of the banner walks in front, followed by a man playing a violin, two drummers, and, behind these, the singers and the faithful. The procession stops in front of each house and the people sing. The banner bearer then asks shelter for Saint Sebastian. The owner offers shelter and gives alms to every member in the procession. Wherever the procession happens to stop for the night a dance takes place. Some of the money received is spent on food. During the night dancing is periodically interrupted by prayers to Saint Sebastian. The procession continues in this manner until it reaches Aquidauana, where more dancing and praying take place.

Although the Terena formerly paraded the banners of Saint John and Saint Anthony they have now restricted themselves to Saint Sebastian. The other saints' days, however, are holidays, during which the Terena play football and dance Brazilian dances. 796 797 [798] [527]

The presence of both Catholic and Protestant missionary activity among the Terena has introduced competition and conflict into the religious picture. Besides competing for converts, the two creeds have led to many tensions among the Terena themselves. The football teams are organized on a religious basis; Catholics and Protestants compete for favors from the manager of the Post; the schools separate the children; the entertainment of Catholic and Protestant groups differs. 182 797 798 152 [516]

In addition to this social division and tension, the codes of the two creeds have led to psychological disturbances. The insistence of the Protestants upon a strict code of behavior makes Protestantism a more difficult religion to practice than Catholicism. Local observers claim that the Terena professing Protestantism appear frustrated and unhappy and that they belong to the church through fear rather than through voluntary desire. The Catholic Terena are permitted to smoke, drink alcohol, and dance. The Protestants claim that these activities are sinful and that no sinner can enter the Kingdom of heaven. On the other hand, the Protestant mission provides advantages which the Catholics do not offer. Protestant missionaries give free medical assistance, provide free education in the Protestant school, and help the Indians in their economic and personal affairs.

Cases of transfer from one creed to another are common. A Catholic youth listening to his Protestant friends may suddenly become conscious of his sinfulness and will join the Protestant church in search of salvation. A Protestant Terena, on the other hand, who breaks the strict moral code imposed upon him will be punished by having the advantages which the mission provides taken away from him. This often results in his leaving the Protestant church, removing his children from the Protestant school, and joining the Catholic church. Adultery and drunkenness on the part of the Terena are the principal causes leading to the abandonment of the Protestant church. 771 795 [684] [689]

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PLATE 10.—The old and the new religion of the Terena. a, Shamans dancing around sick man. b, St. Sebastian Day procession with decorated banner

[End Plate 10]

[P. 82]

/46 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 into Xumonó and Sukirikionó. Unfortunately, the bibliographic
114 data we have on the subject are very poor. We do not know of
178 any information obtained through direct observation; the 18th- and 19th-century chroniclers, who could have helped us with the slightest reference to this dual division, say nothing on the subject; only the already cited missionary, Rattray-Hay, speaks of the matter, but his observations apply to a period when the moieties were no longer functioning as a marriage-regulating technique. Both Rattray-Hay and the ethnologists who followed him 25 years later, such as Oberg and Altenfelder, found these moieties in their ceremonial form and, even thus, not always actualized in the group's religious festivities. The
616 [173] information we obtained in 1955 and 1957 among the remaining Kinikinãu and Terêna give as being true the existence of these divisions in the set-up of their ceremonies of old. Nor is there any doubt that these moieties, before they acquired strictly ceremonial functions, played an important role in the regulation of social life, especially in so far as the choice of a spouse was concerned (Figure 2).

In this respect--the regulation of marriage--, Rattray-Hay, interpreting the Sukirikionó and Xumonó moieties respectively as good and bad, attempts the following explanation:
[173] "How these divisions originated, we cannot very well ascertain, even though, to some extent, we can relate them to the brothers, the good one and the bad one, in their mythology....Marriage between these two parts was also forbidden"--and he adds:
[622] "As the present chief of Bananal aldea pointed out, he who was descended from the bad (moiety), he could not, according to the old law, have married his wife, whose parents are good."
[178] And Rattray-Hay comments: "These distinctions broke down totally in the last generation and are now completely disre-
[178] garded. Except for their role as a barrier to intermarriage, the two parts, the good /47/ /Figure 2 appears here/ and the bad, live together as one, and the division only becomes apparent during the great annual warrior dance known as Cohishotiquigahú...." (72)

72. 1928:109.

148 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization concerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation. We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-religious activities and secular games, in the following way: after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Wahereê-Txané.

Then, the food was carried to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out, after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumonõ

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txané word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

stood on one side, the Sukirikionõ on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

[Traditional Culture]

/49 cont./ century the old stratification was far less operative. For fuller descriptions of the "Tadique," see Altenfelder, 1949:364-365.

Already at the time when Rattray-Hay was with the Terêna of Bananal, the Mootó was no longer performed, there remaining only the Kohixoti-kipahé or "bate-pau" dance--as noted by the missionary--and, probably, the Ivuixotevogomoto or "race of the little horses," both dances noted in 1896 by Bach and witnessed by us in Cachoeirinha. The first consisted of a series of evolutions by two groups, "Harará-iti" (red) and "Hononó-iti" (blue), armed with pellet bows and sticks, dancing to the sounds of a small bamboo flute and a drum. (77) The second

77. The dance consists of various movements or scenes, the chief ones being the following: "Isukokoti-kiirí-étakati" (hits the tip of the bamboo), "Isukokoti-kukukê" (hits in the middle), "Isukokoti-dutiku" (hits on the back), "Wokoti" (draws the bow), "Wekooti" (passes under), "Aluókóti" (climbs upon), and "Hiokexoti-pepe-é-ke" (dancing to the drumbeat).

one, looking more like a game than a dance, also consisted in the confrontation of two groups, headed by their caciques, mounted on outlines of horses cut out of leather: the aim was to slip spears through a small ring hanging from a bow. In both dances points were added up, so that it was always possible to know which group was the winner.

/51 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

81. Idem: 248.

771 821 [796] But much greater--still according to the same source--was the respect they showed for the "small constellation which they called the seven stars and whose appearance at specific points of the sky was the reason for an annual festival." (82) Never-

82. Ibid.

theless, it cannot be said that there was a cult of these entities, or of the "great spirit," and much less of the Pleiades, as that [17] constellation is identified. Moreover, Metraux observes in this regard that "among some peoples of the Chaco, the celestial bodies or natural phenomena are personified and are considered helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that a [289] regular cult is rendered to them." (83) And, referring to the

83. Alfred Metraux, 1944:294.

Terena, he says that these Indians "regarded the return of the Pleiades (merely) as a sign for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities." (84)

84. Idem:295.

796 [114] [82] J. Bach (85) provides a very good description of how these

85. "The only religious festival they celebrate is the one that corresponds to our Holy Week and to the passage of the seven stars; this festival lasts for seven days. In all the aldeas, in front

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rco) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate. Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

festivities were carried out among the Terêna whom he visited at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which

[Traditional Culture]

/51 cont./ These ceremonies, which seem to have been a mixture of religious and secular rituals--such as the Oheokoti, to which we have already referred--have as their central figure the Koixomuneti or doctor-sorcerer, who, wielding a gourd rattle (Itaaká) and a tuft of feathers (Kipahê) invokes /52/ the spirits of the dead or Koipihapati and through them effects cures, pacifies the forces of nature, and performs all sorts of exorcisms. (86)

86. Although today the activity of the Koixomuneti is much more limited and his prestige much less, we can get an idea of his importance among the Guaná groups, especially among the Terêna, by studying certain myths, such as "Ivoióneti." (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949.)

The importance of these annual festivities to Terêna society--aside, of course, from their manifest function (87)--,

87. The concepts of manifest function and latent function are used here after Robert Merton (1951:61-64).

becomes clear when we analyze the role of that ceremonial complex in the maintenance of tribal solidarity and the strengthening of group consciousness, or, in other words, its latent function. The preparations made by the community are so intensive that they demand the participation of the

796 182 619 571 462 [114] [222] [223] [796] [182] [619] [571] [301] [302]

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

largest possible part of the local group and a harmonious and efficient division of labor. Thanks to the fortunate coincidence whereby Castelnau passed through a Terêna community, near Miranda, in May 1845, exactly during preparations for those festivities, we can evaluate the high significance to the group of their "national holiday." The chronicler writes that "for a month the men had searched the forest for honey with which all the families were now busy preparing an alcoholic beverage, the soul of every festival."(88) Once the raw material had

88. 1949, II:303.

been gathered by the men, the job of preparing the drink fell to the women. Besides, by "all the houses women could be seen working at tasks of the most varied sort, but always for the same end."(89) And the function of these annual gatherings

89. The chronicler goes on: "Some sew glass beads on pieces of striped cotton cloth, others cut and lay out the red feathers with which they make ornaments for the head; yet others sketch on their husbands' bodies delicate paintings, when they do not do this themselves." (1949, II:304.)

became very clear to us, in so far as they animate intratribal relations and preserve social solidarity, when we ascertained among the present-day Terêna that this is perhaps the only moment when the local groups manage to gather together all (or almost all) their members. Like the Oheokoti--which today coincides with Holy Week--, only the June festivals can gather the local group together, owing to the great spatial mobility

/52 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

796 of the present-day Terêna. As we shall see in Chapter VII, in
182 spite of the /53/ socio-cultural variations we shall find among
619 the Terêna population (Chap. VI), the power of attraction of
571 these ceremonies is such that it leads to the withdrawal of the Terêna population from all labor, whether on the fazendas, in the towns or cities of the region, or even in their own aldeas that promote the festivals, where their activities are limited to those preparations.

771 For now, it is sufficient if we accept the idea that tra-
171 ditional Terêna-Guaná religious behavior is characterized, in its basic lines, by its compliance to a pattern peculiar to the
171 Chaco culture area. (90) Incidentally, this is not limited to
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796 90. "The cerimonial life
171 of the "Tereno" and probably of all "Guaná" also was par-
ticularly intense when the
[172] new year began. It is difficult to ascertain wheter these Indians adopted the "Mbya" rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether cerimonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the "Mbaya" (Metraux, 1946:357). /Cited in English./

171 religion, but may be extended to mythology. In this respect,
773 Baldus comments that the Terêna mythological complex, to-
[178] day changed into a body of legends, clearly proves its Chaco
[114] origin, and he also points out as significant the fact that the Handbook of South American Indians includes that group in the Chaco tribes. (91)

91. 1950:217.

/66 cont./

175 Incidentally, the consequences that the Paraguayan war
648 had in dispersing the Terêna through an extensive area stretch-
162 ing from the Miranda River to the Brilhante, the headwaters of
the Vacaria, and the valley of the Dourado, will be dealt with
175 in the chapter that follows. It should be borne in mind only
177 that the conflict, aside from being an important factor in
829 Terêna mobility, was an experience that remained deeply en-
537 graved in the tribal memory, becoming, so to speak, the
181 heroic phase of a people peaceful by nature; it led them to an
awareness of their rights over the territory they occupy, as we
were able to ascertain when we heard the speeches of the
Terêna chief of Cachoeirinha aldea, the principal themes of
which were captivity and the Paraguayan war; on this latter
theme, "Captain" Timóteo said that they, the Terêna, had
fought side by side with the Brazilian forces in defense of their
[596] lands and, therefore, had a right to them. And let it be said
[569] that these speeches were made on solemn occasions, such as
All Souls Day (as witnessed by us) and the ceremonies in the
month of May (heralded by the appearance of the Pleiades),
that is, during the principal /67/ ceremonies of the cult of
the dead; but such themes--including captivity--were not only
found in speeches: all of the old informants we interviewed
[814] referred to them, half in sorrow and half in assertion. All of
which goes to show the importance of those experiences insofar
as they characterize Terêna "historicity," to use an expression
that serves to designate the self-awareness of a people for its
history. (124)

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124. In this regard see the interesting essay by Claude Lefort, "Société sans Histoire et Historicité /Society without History and Historicity/," in which the former visiting professor at the Faculty of

/108 cont./
000 endeavor a futile one. It is sufficient for us to bear in mind
797 that, since the Christian religious complexes did not penetrate
177 deeply into Terêna culture, the behavior of these Indians has
182 not been very much affected, unless we regard as important
the acceptance on the part of the "Believers" of certain rules
of comportment, such as not drinking, not smoking, and not
dancing, which are not difficult to find among the "Catholics"
themselves, or those without religion. Hence, we do not find
two really distinct /patterns of/ behavior created by the
795 activities of the different missions. Those of both, to a greater
771 or lesser extent, attend the shamanistic practices and appear
● 796 at the religious and secular festivities that mark the life of the
community. On the days of St. John, St. Sebastian,
St. Anthony, and St. Benedict, the entire population partici-
pates in the secular part of the commemorations; the same
may be said of "Oheokoti" and Holy Week, nowadays merged
into a single body of ceremonies, in which are evident on the
same plane Christian and pagan elements and secular practices.
184 /109/ On the basis of the complex politico-religious
621 situation generated by the diversity of motivations which
797 operated in the conversion of the Terêna, we can classify their
795 aldeas into three groups: a) Cachoeirinha, Ipegue, and Brejão,
as aldeas where Evangelical proselytism was not very success-
ful, their inhabitants continuing to consider themselves
[665] "Catholics"; (169) b) Bananal, Limão Verde, Buriti, and

169. In these villages as in the others--with the exception of União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta--the Terêna are visited by the North American Catholic padres of the Redemptorist Order who have their headquarters in the principal cities of the region.

/115 cont./ An interesting
178 example of the importance of this recreational institution in
535 the old communities--group (a)--, although they may, like
797 Limão Verde, have a multiple ethnic composition, is the re-
796 birth of the "bate pau" thanks to the action of the Redemptorist padres who took upon themselves the role of "producer." It seems that the first attempt was made on January 20, St. Sebastian Day, when there was a procession that included among its members, "in closed /116/ ranks," the group of dancers of the "bate pau!" This shows the strategic use of "secular games" in religious ceremonies. And the result of this was so positive that the Redemptorists were scheduling a repeat performance for August 1, day of St. Alfonso, patron of Limão Verde. (185)

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185. I do not believe that it would be difficult to revive these "secular games" in the communities of Brejão or Passarinho, in view not only of their homogeneous ethnic composition but of their relative antiquity, which makes them likely to include some old Terêna individuals familiar with the "scenes and steps." Moreira, an aldea even more recent in origin than Passarinho, was formed almost exclusively by individuals coming from the fazendas, most of whom had never seen a "bate pau" or a "little-horse race," which would make their

/116 cont./

178 participation in activities of
535 this sort very difficult.
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178 It is true that these variables are significant to an under-
184 standing of the survival of these "games," and also (in terms
621 of the same mechanisms) for the study of certain cultural complexes still in force in the old aldeas, such as the traditional forms of burying the dead (with all of their belongings), the use of kinship terms, or the peculiar sexual division of labor, all of these complexes having disappeared from the communities of the second (b) group, as well as from those of multiple
178 ethnic composition. But it cannot be said that such variables
756 have the same importance for the analysis of the magico-
755 religious rituals organized by the Koixomuneti. Wherever there is a Koixomuneti--and they are spread through all the aldeas and even in the cities, as we shall see below--the rituals are carried out, their "results" varying of course (according to the testimony of the Terêna) with the mastery of magical
178 practices possessed by their agents. What can be said is that
796 the old Oheokoti, heralded--as we saw in Chapter III--by the
[177] appearance of the Pleiades, today has practically disappeared, replaced as it has been by the basically Catholic activities of Holy Week. Nevertheless, there are indications that up to 1955 (!), in Bananal, the Oheokoti was performed with some regularity in its traditional form, i.e., with the magico-religious ceremonies followed by the activities of the Yanakalu, by the collective meal, and concluded with the Mootó. (186)

186. The informants, in Bananal, told us that it is becoming increasingly difficult to gather participants, and that on the last occasion they managed to get only ten individuals, counting old and young.

/116 cont./

178 Now, in Cachoeirinha, the last time when a complete
796 Oheokoti ceremony was performed was in 1915, judging from the information gathered in the aldea that gives this /117/
[614] date as that of the last Mootó. Since then, the collective
[526] Mootó has become an individual affair: when a Xumonó Terena--for example--aware of his skill as a fighter, invited a Sukirikionó to a "fight," and the latter accepted, they were both probably more inclined to revive an ancient source of prestige than to foster a ceremony connected with religious
[756] rituals, although secular /in itself/. Today, it can be said, the Oheokoti has been much simplified, in spite of the fact that the term is still in force as a general designation for the magico-religious ceremonies performed by the Koixomuneti.
178 Nevertheless, it is also necessary to differentiate from the
796 usual shamanistic rituals (performed with the sole purpose of
756 healing diseases and warding off evil), those ceremonies
775 directed to the "guardian spirits" of the Koixomuneti. Each
[255] Koixomuneti has his Koipihapati-Koixomuneti, i.e., the
[787] spirits of dead doctor-sorcerers who, in life, enjoyed great prestige in the community, and, in some cases, got to be teachers of the Koixomuneti, who receives him /sic/ on specific days. (187) It is to these magico-religious ceremonies
that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.
[177]

187. These days may or may not coincide with Holy Week, although Good Friday is the day most fitting for the Oheokoti. Several of the Koixomuneti told us that they "work" on this day, among them the late João Grande, of Cachoeirinha, "Oongó," the aunt of the "Captain" of Bananal, and old Juliana, who lives in

/117 cont./

178 796 756 775 [165]

Campo Grande. All of them were characterized by their great age, especially João Grande, perhaps the oldest of all, who died in 1957 at the age of approximately 100.

that the name Oheokoti is given at the present day.

177 178 755 756 771 796 Although these ceremonies still take place in all of the Terêna communities, they seem to have been much modified in their internal structures. They now present intrusive Catholic and spiritualist elements, which make them a living example of religious syncretism: the Koixomuneti call themselves Catholics, wear medals and hang pictures of saints on the walls of their "ranchos," while at the same time their practices show spiritualist influences, due to the contact they maintain with the so-called "low spiritualism" of the cities. It is frequently heard that "spiritualism is getting into the aldea" and that the [619] present Koixomuneti "are not as good as the old ones." In short, it can be said that in spite of all the modifications undergone by the Oheokoti--or perhaps, due to the same, since they made him more flexible--, he continues to survive and to fulfill his integrating function, or, in other /118/ words, as we already said, to foster tribal solidarity and strengthen the ethnic consciousness of all of the Terêna local groups, succeeding in attracting even the individuals who live in the cities.

178 571 [177] This flexibility shown by the Oheokoti had no parallel in the traditional social structure. This is the reason why the latter broke down, without resisting the changes operating in the regional scene, when the Terêna communities were compelled to resist the expanding front of Brazilian society. As we saw in Chapter III--and as we are merely recalling here--, the extraordinary rigidity of Guaná-Terêna social structure, made up of the combination of a three-fold asymmetrical

/407 cont./

585 standing near her. The bridegroom now sits down beside the
273 bride, whereupon the latter exchanges her bottle of caña with the bottle of the bridegroom. /408/ The bridegroom's family then goes home and drinks up the bride's liquor. The bridegroom remains in the bride's hut and empties the other bottle with her family. The marriage ties are knotted by this exchange of the
591 two bottles. The husband always remains in the family hut of his
595 wife. If there are more marriageable girls there, he takes a second wife, but no ceremony takes place in connection with this.

796 Upa a ne voty. Festival of the seven stars. This great festival of the Terenos is celebrated in the month of April. A week before the festival two old men go from hut to hut: the one arranges for musicians; the other invites the men for the scheduled
[273] night. The guests must provide everything necessary, especially caña, before the festival, for the more there is to drink, the more splendid the festival. On the scheduled night, between one and two o'clock, all the men gather in the festival plaza. One of the oldest men stands in the middle of the plaza, holding a lance in his hand; the others squat on the ground, forming a circle around the old man. Then the old man speaks, his face turned toward the east: I am the grandfather of all the chiefs who live in the east! He then enumerates all the names of the latter known to him. Then he turns to the north, then to the west, then to the south, and repeats the same thing. In this way he pretends to be the grandfather of all the important men of the
[82] world. He then looks toward the sky and asks the seven stars for
[782] rain and implores them to protect his people from war, sickness, snakebites, etc. This prayer lasts for some hours. As soon as the prayer is ended, the old man lets out a howl, whereupon the whole company jumps up, howls, rattles, shoots, and makes a terrible noise with all sorts of instruments. The old man then goes home, while the company goes around the plaza with shouting and up-
796 roar until dawn. Four to six small leaf-houses are built around
533 the plaza for the musicians. Toward six o'clock in the evening the above-mentioned old man gives a sign with the yntaca,

/408 cont./

796 whereupon the musicians go into their little houses and start
[5:33] noisy music. Then there are dancing and drinking the whole night through, and not until the first gray of dawn do the festival
796 participants disperse. During the forenoon of the second day all
541 the young men gather at the plaza, split up into two opposing parties, and attack each other until one party is beaten. This fight takes place without weapons, but the fists are used vigorously, and most have bloody heads after the battle. I was shown a young Indian who had lost an eye this way. After the fight everybody
796 gathers in the hut of the chief. One of the musicians, /409/ who
[2:28] is lavishly adorned, carries stag antlers in his right hand and limps to a hut pointed out to him, knocks there with the antlers on the door post, and limps back. Then the owner of the hut comes out and asks what is wanted, whereupon everybody shouts: A head of cattle (cow or bull)! (The whole tribe buys this head of cattle
[262] before the festival.) Then the man goes back and fetches the head of cattle, which is immediately slaughtered and eaten. As soon as the meat is consumed and the caña drunk up, everyone goes home, and with this the festival is over.

796 The second great festival of the Terenos is called mainu and
541 sometimes lasts 14 days. Early in the morning on the first day,
562 all the men have a rendezvous at a place kept secret from the
[302] women, paint themselves until they are unrecognizable, and
[411] then rush shouting into the village, shooting their guns and bows, and act as though they were enemies and were about to attack the village. The women in the meantime have armed themselves with clubs, fruits, etc., and a mock battle then develops. The women throw gourds, clubs, etc. at the heads of their men and
796 finally drive them out of the village. In the afternoon the men
535 gather at the village plaza and place themselves in two rows.
[237] Then an oddly bedecked dancer appears. He wears a coat of
[302] leaves, his head is decorated with horns and feathers, his body painted with black and red paint. Under his right arm he carries a lance, in his left hand a club; he acts as though he were very tired, makes all sorts of grimaces in connection with this, limps

/409 cont./

796 a few hundred steps away from the company, pretends to eat,
535 returns again to the assemblage, and for some hours carries on this farcical nonsense, with which the spectators are marvelously amused. This dance finishes the first festival day. In the plaza, usually in the middle, there is built a hut which the men enter
[237] on the afternoon of the next day. Five or six of them make them-
[302] selves unrecognizable by hanging ostrich feathers over their eyes, decorating their heads with crowns of feathers, painting face and body, and tying the choatie around their legs. Then they dance, one after the other, twice around the plaza and finally return to the hut, whereupon five or six others repeat the same dance. This dance is performed every day for a few hours as long as the
[562] festival lasts. The women are not permitted to enter the hut in which the men dress up, for the big joke is that the women must guess who the dancers are. The festival lasts a longer or shorter time, depending on how much caña is on hand, and ends when the supply is exhausted.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

for the absorption of the individual into the dominant, ethnically diverse group, as we shall see below.

565 Turning now to Terena Social Structure, it can readily be analyzed as being composed of two distinct and socially superimposed groups, the captive group (Kauti) and the dominant tribal group (Terena). The latter in its turn is divided into two groups: the first that of the chiefs and their relatives, called Naati; the other that of the common men, the "people", called Waheré-Txané. The first of these names comes from the word Unati meaning *good*. The second can be analyzed etymologically to mean *worthless people* (Waheré—worthless, Txané—people), but its connotation gives it the sense of *common people*. As can be seen, there are two types of stratification, the ethnic and the social, which accords well with the theory of Thurnwald (cited by Baldus and Willems, 1939, under the item *Social Stratification*). The result, as diagrammed in Figure I, was the appearance of a threefold assymetrical structure, which is a basic characteristic of the Terena social system.

2. Dual Division: Moieties

616 The Terena (but not the Kauti) are further divided into two groups, never spatial separated, called Sukirikionó and Xumonó. These have the same social standing and are therefore linked in a network of symmetrical relationships. The stratification process which determined the formation of a threefold assymetrical structure above, has no place here. It is possible, however, to make a differential analysis of the roles played by the members of each moiety, particularly during the Oheokoti ceremonies.

616 796 [756] [769] These ceremonies began with a series of shamanistic rites and ended with secular ritual. The principal figure was the Koixomuneti or witchdoctor, known also as "Padre". At the appearance of the constellation called Seven Stars (Pleiades), or better when it had reached its zenith, usually in April, the feasts in honor of the dead were held, and at the same time the harvest was begun. Following the magico—religious rites there was a ceremonial gathering —in of the crops directed by Yanakalu, a member of the Xumonó moiety completely costumed and masked. In company with the people, he goes from house to house indicating with a staff the items needed for the banquet. At the end of the feast the Xumonó begin to torment the Sukirikionó, who feign indifference to it all. After a bit, however, opportunity is given for a reaction. The two moieties group into opposing lines for the "game" called Mootó. They trade punches back and forth, although care is taken to confine the fighting to appropriate age and sex groups.

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

This brief summary of the ceremonies connected with Oheokoti serves to illustrate the role the moieties play in the conduct of magico-religious affairs, and the fact that certain distinctive qualities are attributed to each of the moieties, by which standard the members regulate their actions. The Sukirikionó were expected to be "tame", sensible and calm, while the Xumonó were expected to be "wild", trouble makers and violent. These behaviour differences so impressed the protestant missionary Alexander Rattray Hay that he judged the first to represent "good" and the second "evil". Altenfelder Silva's interpretation seems a more probable one, suggesting that the second group represents youth, restless and playful, while the first represents maturity, serious and quiet (1949 : 319).

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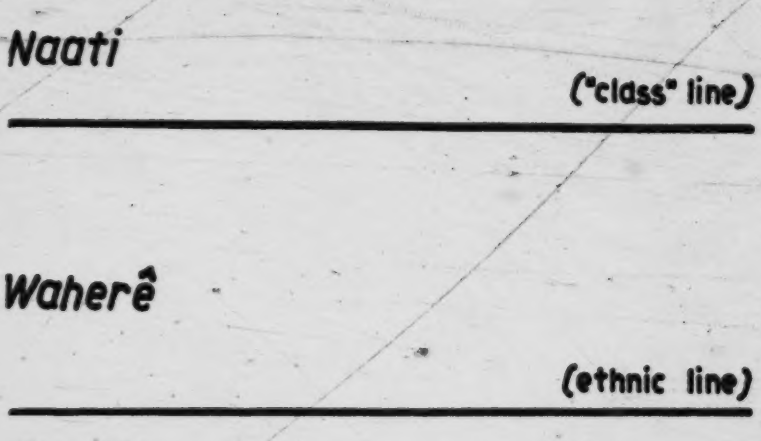

Figure I

Hay, who lived with the Terena during the second decade of this century, has this to say about the origin of the moieties: "How the divisions originated we have not been able to discover, though we surmise that they are related in some way to good and bad brothers of their mythology" (ibidem : 109). The myths tell the story of the culture hero Yurikoyuvakái, who brought the Terena up from under the earth and gave them fire (tokeoré), as well as the things they needed for survival on top of the earth. As to his origin, the version of the myth recorded by Kalervo Oberg recounts that: "In the beginning *Yurikoyuvakái* was just one being. He lived with his sister *Livéchechevéna*. When his sister planted a garden, Yurikoyuvakái

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/90 cont./

361 Boquehina Aldea. It has 18 ranchos, some from 6 to 8
342 meters long by 3 or 4 wide; it is inhabited by 298 Indians.
162
621 Marro Aldea. It has 24 ranchos, some from 9 to 10 meters long by 4 to 5 meters wide and other smaller ones; 386 Indians live in it.

Marrinho Aldea. It has 15 ranchos, the largest from 8 to 10 meters long by 2 to 4 meters wide; 257 Indians live there.

Ipéqué Aldea. It has 11 ranchos, some from 5 to 7 meters long /91/ by 2 to 4 meters wide, and others smaller. In it live 246 Indians.

Santa-Ana Aldea. It has 23 ranchos, some from 6 to 10 meters long by 3 to 4 meters wide, with 379 Indians.

Caytapé Aldea. It has 19 ranchos from 8 to 10 meters long by 3 to 5 meters wide, and 315 Indians.

142 Somatic data. The Terena have dark copper-colored skin, ugly flat face, low forehead, black hair, straight and thick, scanty beard, black eyes, a small nose, small mouth, strong, very white teeth, small ears, small hands and feet.

352 The rancho. The interior of the rancho of these Indians
[237] shows rustic bamboo beds covered with the skin of a cow or of some other wild animal. The hide serves as a mattress,
[415] the pillows are small bags stuffed with straw, there are in addition in the hut several hammocks, several clay pots for water, and some rustic benches, they have no table, their table is the ground.

The kitchen. This is a very simple rancho, or better said
353 a straw roof, some two meters square and a meter and a half
343 high, under which they keep dishes, pots, and other kitchen utensils.

771 Worship. The Terena believe that there is a God in the
825 sky and they believe in the virtues of the tail of the rattlesnake,
787 which has the gift of being able to communicate with the souls
796 in the other world. The only religious fiesta that they celebrate
[82] is the one which corresponds to our Holy Week; it is the passage of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days.

/91 cont./

796 of the seven stars; this fiesta lasts seven days. In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a straw roof with two slopes two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters in height, supported upon six bamboos. Under this roof they fix a forked bamboo stick from which they hang a tuft of feathers and a gourd. They go in large groups from rancho to rancho, and half an hour at a time, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great racket with horns, shout, and set off powder; it is an awesome noise, so awesome that even the animals are frightened, accompanying the music with their cries and moans. The fifth day a masked man appears, with a little bag in his hand, acting clownishly and asking for contributions from all for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

[534] Accompanied by music and by drums and flutes they celebrate the banquet and dances, which end on the seventh day with great libations.

541 Thadique. This is a very crude hand game, which consists of /92/ fisticuffs between men and between women, formed into two large teams which the caciques select, who also later break them up, since after a brief fight they all file off in good harmony.

526 Horse racing. From a piece of hide they make a horse, which they decorate with feathers and little rags, then mounting this horse as on a hobbyhorse. At about 35 meters from the point of departure they place a hoop and in the middle of this they hang a small dead bird, and they have to strike the bird with a small stiff, very sharp-pointed stick. They start off together, running at full tilt, the loser having to pay one bottle of caña, and the winner receiving two bottles of caña. This fiesta generally lasts two to three days and has no set time, being celebrated in each aldea at a different time.

535 [114] [534] Dances. I attended four different dances and all of them were very harmonious; all of them were accompanied by an orchestra of drums and flutes.